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AMERICAN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

VOL. I.]

JUNE, 1834.

[NO. 6.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The week of the anniversaries in New-York is so fully occupied by the public meetings of numerous long established societies, that any new ones must have a strong hold upon the public interest to gain a hearing. Our readers will know how to estimate the excitement in regard to the American Anti-Slavery Society, when they are informed that it absorbed the thought and feeling of the week so largely, that on every occasion, where decorum would permit, it furnished the topic of conversation. It may fairly be said to have swallowed up all the other subjects. Bible and Tract and Missionary Anniversaries were well sustained, as usual, but no one could witness the gathering and dispersing of those assemblies without perceiving that the long neglected cause of the slave was pressing upon the consciences of men, that it was beginning to be felt that all our parade about Bibles and Tracts, Missionaries and Sabbath schools, while no voice is raised in behalf of the oppressed, is in danger of becoming the seal of our hypocrisy instead of our crown of glory.

The limits of this periodical will allow us only to give a few extracts from the interesting speeches and proceedings of the anniversary, and the meetings connected with it.

Among the important measures considered at the business meetings were the following.

THE BIBLE TO BE SENT TO THE SLAVES.

It was proposed to the American Bible Society to raise \$20,000 to supply every

colored family in the United States with a copy of the Holy Scriptures. The American Anti-Slavery Society pledged itself to contribute \$5,000, provided the Bible Society would undertake to carry the measure into effect in two years. This proposal was kindly received by the Bible Society, and referred to a committee which has not yet reported.

It is difficult to see, why in distributing the scriptures we should treat with any more delicacy the wicked prejudices and anti-Christian laws which stand in our way in our own country, than those in Spanish America or in China. Yet in the general effort to supply every family in the United States with the word of God, very little has been said of the appalling fact that the book has been excluded from one-sixth of the families in the land. Had a caste been discovered in India so carefully hedged in from all access of saving truth, should we not have heard more of it? Would not our prayers and our sympathies have been invoked in their behalf? Have our missionaries in Syria treated with great delicacy those laws which forbid the people to receive the sacred volume, or hold any intercourse with its teachers?

This measure will bring to the test those who say that the slaves are generally held not as property—not in the spirit of the original kidnappers—but in trust, till they can be prepared for freedom. Let the philanthropists of the north say to the people of the south through the American Bible Society, "If as you pretend, you really desire to fit

the slave for liberty, here are the means. We do not say, teach them to read and *then* we will give Bibles; but here are Bibles which they may have to read." If the slaves need "*a preparation for freedom*," what can be a better and safer one than instruction in the word of God?

Let every auxiliary of the Bible Society at the south be proffered Bibles enough to put one in the hands of every five slaves, and then at length we shall see how much regard they have to the command of the Savior to carry the gospel to every creature.

This measure will also bring to the test the confidence of the slave-holders in their own assertion that the Bible sanctions or allows slavery. Are they afraid to put into the hands of the enslaved the authoritative charter of the masters' rights? Have they a virtual "*BILL OF SALE FROM THE ALMIGHTY*;" and are they afraid to show it to the party concerned? If ever a falsehood was made palpable, the slave-holders have made theirs so, in refusing the Bible to the slaves, while they pretend to derive their *right* from it. Let those who still believe that the slave-holders really wish to get rid of the system "*as soon as it can be done safely*," take hold of this enterprise.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

This subject engaged the attention of the Society, and we trust will not be suffered to rest till the object is attained. It was

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to issue circulars calling on the friends of abolition to petition the state legislatures to pass resolutions, requesting their representatives and instructing their senators in Congress to use their influence in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States, and the entire suppression of the domestic slave-trade."

Let it be remembered that for the continuance of slavery at the seat of the national government *the whole people are responsible*. We have not only a natural right but a legal and constitutional right to say whether, in mockery of our Declaration of Independence, *men* shall be made property of under the windows of the Capitol,—whether the red flag of the slave-trade shall float under the stars and stripes, and the din of the auction of souls, the clank of chains and the wailing of the captives shall mingle forever with the voices of our republican orators.

Most earnestly we entreat all who value justice and the rights of man, to pour in upon the next Congress such notes of re-monstrance as shall break the seal which our national hypocrisy has placed upon their ears as well as their lips.

\$20,000 TO BE RAISED THIS YEAR.

"Resolved, That the great objects of this Society require funds during the current year to the amount of at least \$20,000."

A reformation of manners so surely follows a thorough dissemination of light in regard to truth and duty, that a man might safely guarantee the extinction of slavery within a given short time, provided the pecuniary means were put in his hands of bringing information to all the individuals that make up the community. It would certainly be safe to undertake to set the whole mass of the slaves free at the rate of *one dollar* a piece, for \$2,000,000 would saturate the nation with arguments, demonstrating beyond the reach of a doubt, the perfect safety and profitableness, as well as the *duty* of immediate abolition. We believe a far smaller sum will do it: and shall it not be raised? Who is there that would not glory to make himself poor to give freedom and manhood to 2,000,000 of brethren? to relieve his country, in the spring tide freshness of her hopes, from a curse that is bringing her down to a dishonored grave?

The men who have given to this cause have been hitherto few, but we believe this year will make them many. We hope to see an Anti-Slavery Society starting up in every hamlet, which shall pour in its contributions to the cause with unceasing activity. Let one be formed wherever there are three abolitionists of the right sort.—And let them adopt an efficient system of means to aid in disseminating our victorious principles.

We would venture to recommend that every society should open a subscription, in which every person shall name the sum that he will pay monthly, or weekly, and that a sufficient number of collectors be appointed to gather the subscriptions with promptness and ease. Let the name of every man, woman and child that can give even a cent a month be on this subscription, and let the proceeds be at short intervals remitted to the parent society. By thus combining the strength of the feeble a mighty result may be produced. Such a sys-

tem will not only give the means of propagating the true doctrine of human rights, but it will give life and and permanence to the Anti-Slavery spirit, and will kindle up something better than a barren sympathy for the enslaved.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES AT THE
ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN
ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Rev. Amos A. Phelps, late of Boston, moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That inasmuch as foreign slave trading has been justly decreed by civilized nations to be piracy, slave-holding is a sin of no less atrocity; and that, existing as it does in our country, it brings the Declaration of American Independence and our republican institutions into contempt, and gives just occasion to apprehend the judgments of a righteous God, if it be not speedily abolished.

He proceeded to support this position by a very lucid train of logic, and closed with the following touching facts.

The U. S. have just paid \$5000 for repairing it, [the jail of the D. C.] The debtors and criminals are located in rooms above, and below are 16 solitary cells, used and constantly occupied for the confinement of slaves and persons taken up on suspicion of being slaves. On inquiring of one and another, My lad, what are you here for? it was affecting to hear the reply, "For my freedom, sir." Just down the hill in the other direction, and like the jail within sight of the Capitol, is the slave tavern of William Robie, a depot for the American slave trade. And seven miles distant, in Alexandria, and under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, is the larger establishment of Franklin & Armfield. One of the partners told me he had probably sold a thousand slaves already this year. And he told a gentleman, who told me, that he had made not less than \$30,000 by his operations. According to the city laws of Washington, every slave trader pays \$400 for a license, and this goes to support the city government.

Need I ask whether such things bring us and our declaration of independence into contempt? Sir, look at Europe. The Christians—the infidels—the supporters of tyranny—the friends of liberty—point the finger of scorn at our inconsistency. We boast that our country is the home of the oppressed, and yet there is not a nation on earth that holds so many slaves. We cheer on the Greeks to break the Turkish yoke,

and we make contributions in aid of the Poles, and yet hold greater numbers in more cruel and crushing bondage. We boast of our freedom of speech and of the press. And yet, in the District of Columbia, a free citizen, if he has a colored skin, is liable to a fine of \$20 for taking the Emancipator. And we have seen the legislature of a sovereign state at the south, offering a reward of \$5000 for the head of a citizen at the north, who undertook to awaken public attention to the enormities of this system.

Mr. JAMES A. THOME, of Kentucky, a delegate from the Anti-Slavery Society of Lane Seminary, moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the principles of the American A. S. Society commend themselves to the consciences and interests of slave holders; and that recent developments indicate the speedy triumph of our cause.

Of the truth of the first proposition contained in this resolution, that our principles commend themselves to the consciences and interest of slave-holders, I have the honor to stand before you a living witness. I am from Kentucky. There I was born and wholly educated. The associations of youth and the attachments of growing years; prejudices, opinions and habits forming and fixing during my whole life, conspire to make me a Kentuckian indeed. More than this: I breathed my first breath in the atmosphere of slavery—I was suckled at its breast and dandled on its knee. Black, black, black was before me at every step—the sure badge of infamy. The sympathies of nature, even in their spring tide, were dried up: compassion was deadened, and the heart was steelled by repeated scenes of cruelty, and oft taught lessons of the colored man's inferiority.

What I shall say, is the result either of experience or of personal observation.

Abolition principles do take strong hold of the conscience and of interest too. Permit me to say, sir, I was for several years a member of the colonization society. I contributed to its funds, and eulogized its measures; and now, though I would not leave my path to attack this institution, yet duty bids me state, solemnly and deliberately, that its direct influence upon my mind was to lessen my conviction of the evil of slavery, and to deepen and sanctify my prejudice against the colored race.

But, sir, far otherwise with abolition.—

Within a few months' residence at Lane Seminary, and by means of a discussion unparalleled in the brotherly feeling and fairness which characterized it, and the results which it brought out, the great principles of duty stood forth, sin revived, and I died. And, sir, though I am at this moment the heir to a slave inheritance, and though, forsooth, I am one of those *unfortunate* beings upon whom slavery is by force *ENTAIL-ED*, yet I am bold to denounce the whole system as an outrage, a complication of crimes and wrongs and cruelties that make angels weep. This is the spirit which your principles inspire. Indeed, I know of no subject which takes such strong hold of the man, as does abolition. It seizes the conscience with an authoritative grasp—it runs across every path of the guilty, haunts him, goads him, and rings in his ear the cry of blood. It builds a wall up to heaven before him and around him; it goes with the eye of God, and searches his heart with a scrutiny too strict to be eluded. It writes a "thou art the man" upon the forehead of every oppressor.

It also commands the avenues to the human heart, and rushes up through them all to take the citadel of feeling. All the sympathies are its advocates, and every susceptibility to compassionate outraged humanity, stands pledged to do its work.

Will you permit me to state some of the vantage grounds upon which we stand in the public discussion of this question?

1. The duty of the slave-holder. The duty of the slave-holder—what a weapon! a host in itself! sure as the throne of God, and strong as the arm of God. It is untrue that this consideration loses its force in slave states. It is the power of God there and on this subject, as it is elsewhere and on every other. Facts are daily occurring, which show that when every other motive fails, this is efficient. It is a libel upon the western character, to say that duty there must bow before *expediency*; and this miserable policy will soon be visited with a just rebuke from the people it has slandered.

2. Again—The sufferings of the slaves. It is well known that in Kentucky slavery wears its mildest features. Kentucky slave-holders are generally ignorant of the cruelties which are practised further south, and on this score are little aware of the bearings of the system. Those good matter-of-fact patriots, who call such recitals "the poetry

of philanthropy," and who in the south have the control of the press, have studiously refrained from instructing the public on this point. A noble expedient this, to close the ear of the oppressor against the wail of the oppressed. But it will not avail. The voice of their lamentations is waxing louder, and *it will be heard*. Sir, is it not unquestionable that slavery is the parent of more suffering than has flowed from any one source since the date of its existence? Such sufferings too! Sufferings inconceivable and innumerable—anguish from mind degraded—hopelessness from violated chastity—bitterness from character, reputation, and honor annihilated—unmingled wretchedness from the ties of nature rudely broken and destroyed, the acutest bodily torture in every muscle and joint—groans, tears and blood—lying forever "in perils among robbers, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness."

What! are these our brethren? And have we fattened like jackalls, upon their living flesh? Sir, when once the great proposition, that negroes are *human beings*—a proposition now scouted by many with contempt—is clearly demonstrated and drawn out on the southern sky, and when underneath it is written the bloody corollary—the sufferings of the negro race—the seared conscience will again sting, and the stony heart will melt.

But, brethren of the north, be not deceived. These sufferings still exist; and despite the efforts of their cruel authors to hush them down, and confine them within the precincts of their own plantations, they will, ever and anon, struggle up and reach the ear of humanity.

A general fact; though I would by no means intimate that Kentucky slave-holders are themselves free from cruelty—far from it!—yet I have found, in narrating particular cases to them, as evident expressions of horror and indignation, as men ordinarily feel in other sections of our country. Such facts have their effect upon them.

3. Licentiousness. I shall not speak of the far south, whose sons are fast melting away under the unblushing profligacy which prevails. I allude to the slave-holding west. It is well known that the slave-lodgings—I refer now to village slaves—are

exposed to the entrance of strangers every hour of the night, and that the sleeping apartments of both sexes are common.

It is also a fact, that there is no allowed intercourse between the families and servants after the work of the day is over. The family, assembled for the evening, enjoy a conversation elevating and instructive. But the poor slaves are thrust out. No ties of sacred home thrown around them—no moral instruction to compensate for the toils of the day—no intercourse as of man with man; and should one of the younger members of the family, led by curiosity, steal out into the filthy kitchen, the child is speedily called back, thinking itself happy if it escape an angry rebuke. Why this? The dread of moral contamination. Most excellent reason; but it reveals a horrid picture. The slaves, thus cut off from all community of feeling with their masters, roam over the village streets, shocking the ear with their vulgar jestings and voluptuous songs, or opening their kitchens to the reception of the neighboring blacks, they pass the evening in gambling, dancing, drinking, and the most obscene conversation, kept up until the night is far spent, then crown the scene with indiscriminate debauchery. Where do these things occur? In the kitchens of church members and elders!

But another general fact. After all the care of parents, to hide these things from their children, the young inquisitors pry them out, and they are apt scholars truly. It's a short sighted parent who does not perceive that his domestics influence, very materially, the early education of his children. Between the female slaves and the misses, there is an unrestrained communication.—As they come in contact through the day, the courtesan feats of the over night are whispered into the ear of the unsuspecting girl, to poison her youthful mind.

Bring together these three facts—1st, that slave lodgings are exposed, and both sexes fare promiscuously—2d, that the slaves are excluded from the social, moral and intellectual advantages of the family, and left to seek such enjoyments as a debased appetite suggests—and 3d, that the slaves have free interchange of thought with the younger members of the family; and ask yourselves what must be the results of their combined operation.

Yet these are only *some* of the ingredi-

ents in this great system of licentiousness. Pollution, pollution! Young men of talents and respectability, fathers, professors of religion, ministers—all classes! Overwhelming pollution! I have facts—but I forbear to state them—facts which have fallen under my own observation, startling enough to arouse the moral indignation of the community.

I would not have you fail to understand that this is a general evil. Sir, what I now say, I say from deliberate conviction of its truth; let it be felt in the north, and rolled back upon the south, that the slave states are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel. (In this, I refer to the inmates of the kitchens, and not to the whites.) And it is well! God be blessed for the evils which this cursed sin entails. They only show that whatever is to be feared from the abolition of slavery, horrors, a hundred fold greater, cluster about its existence. Heap them up, all hideous as they are, and crowd them home; they will prove an effectual medicine. Let me be understood here. This pollution is the offspring of slavery: it springs not from the character of the negro, but from the *condition* of the slave.

I have time merely to allude to several other considerations.

4. The fears of slave-holders. These afford strong evidence that conscience is at work. In the most peaceful villages of Kentucky, masters at this time sleep with muskets in their bedrooms, or a brace of pistols at their head.

5. Their acknowledgments. The very admissions which they make, for the purpose of silencing their growing convictions of duty, may be successfully turned upon them. They almost unanimously say that slavery is a great evil—that it is abstractly wrong; yet there is no help for it—or their slaves are better off than they are—or, or, or.

Now be they sincere or insincere, out of their own mouth we can condemn them. I met, the other day, in traveling a short distance on the Ohio river, with a good illustration of the manner in which these admissions are made. It is also a pretty faithful exhibition of the uneasy, conscience-struck spirit which is beginning to pervade Kentucky. The individual was a citizen of that state, and a slave-holder in it. He was free in conversation on the subject of slavery. He declared in the outset that slavery

was wrong—a most iniquitous system, and ought to be abolished. Quite a point gained, thought I, and I proceeded very confidently to the application. But I soon found that my friend had deserted his position. “The old dispensation, sir, what d’ye think of that? Didn’t Abraham hold slaves? and what does Paul say?”

You perceive he was a *Christian*, sir—quite orthodox withal.

Soon again he returned to his post, and asserted as roundly as before, the wickedness of slavery. “Wrong—totally wrong! I would free all my slaves if—but—O tell me, sir, were not the Jews permitted to hold slaves, because they were a favored people; and are not we a favored people? Abraham, Paul, the old dispensation”—and thus he rung the changes, stung on the one hand by a guilty conscience, and met on the other by opposing selfishness. It may be said, this man was not intelligent. He was unusually so *on every other subject*.

6. Safety of emancipation. On this point, the slave-holder is more than ignorant—he is deplorably misinformed. Who have been his counsellors, judge ye. It is remarkable what a unanimity of sentiment prevails on this subject.

You would suppose that they had long been plied with stories of butchered parents, murdered children, and plundered houses. This might be discouraging if the short history of emancipation did not furnish us with so many conclusive facts. With these facts you are quite familiar; and yet there is no objection more common, than the dangers, the dangers of emancipation. Travel in slave-holding states, and talk with masters, and you will find, in a great majority of cases, they will point to St. Domingo, and exultingly say, “Behold the consequences of your measures.”

7. Slave-holders are not so inaccessible as they are thought to be in the north. There is a strong degree of excitability in the character of our southern brethren, it is true; but this is not all. There is reason too, and common sense, and conscience.

I, for one, beg leave to enter my decided protest against those *friendly* representations of southern character, which have been made to scare away abolitionists, and prolong a guilty repose. Unless I read amiss, assertions are repeatedly made to this effect; that argument, in the south, has no weight; that truth, facts, experience are

all inefficacious; that slave-holders have no conscience, no heart, no soul, no principle, nothing but selfishness, that they are boisterous and passionate when you speak of the rights of man, and you must beware—soft! delicate matter! Sir, I repudiate these sentiments. They are as groundless as they are insulting. Let them strike with all their force against certain wordy orators of the south, whose arguments are powder and ball, but they illy fit those worthy citizens whose voice constitutes public sentiment.

The slave-holder, if rightly approached, exhibits all the courtesy for which the south is noted. I have conversed with many, and scarcely know an instance to the contrary. No indignation—no rage—no fierce indications of hostility. I lately had opportunity to converse with several intelligent families in a small village of Kentucky. The state of feeling was truly gratifying. Many inquiries were made concerning the principles of abolitionists. Some were anxious to know the plans of operation, others expressed themselves in very unexpected terms. Said one, “I am decidedly opposed to the spirit of the Colonization Society.” Said another, “I am determined to emancipate my slaves just so soon as circumstances, now without my control, will permit.”

8. Kentucky. I have already made frequent allusions to Kentucky. The spirit which is beginning to prevail there, though not a fair representative of the state of the public mind in other slave states, is to be hailed, on other grounds, as constituting no small item in our account. Colonization—which, like the Hindoo goddess, with smiling face and winning air, grasps in her wide embrace, the zeal of the church and the benevolence of the world, and, pressing them to her bosom, thrusts them through with the hidden steel, colonization has indeed done its mournful work in Kentucky.

Sir, perhaps I owe an apology to this house for such frequent allusions to the Colonization Society. This is my apology; I *know* its evils, and can lay my finger on them, one by one. I *know* the individual slaves who are now in bondage by its influence *alone*. I *know* the masters whose *only* plea for continuing in the sin, is drawn from its doctrines. I know, and therefore have I spoken. Many of its friends I reverence; they are worthy men. But the tendencies of the system I *know* to be pernicious in the extreme.

But the State is rising above this influence. Conscientious citizens are forming themselves into other associations. Many hold this language: "Slavery stands in opposition to the spirit of the age, to the progress of human improvement—it cannot abide the light of the nineteenth century." The legislature has taken up the subject. The spirit of inquiry is abroad, "Kentucky is rapidly awakening." She should now fill up the eye of abolitionists; for if she were induced to take a stand with you, her example would be of incalculable worth.

These are some of the results of a life thus far spent in the midst of slavery; less than this I could not prevail upon myself to say. The design of these statements has been, to encourage you in your holy enterprise, inasmuch as they show that your principles do take strong hold of the consciences and interest of slave-holders.

Now, sir, the great object of my presence here, is to urge upon you an appeal for renewed effort on the behalf of the slave. The question has been asked here, and repeated in the south, "What has the north to do with slavery?" At present she has every thing to do with it—every thing. Will you please to bear in mind three considerations: 1st, We have no abolition paper in the west or south! 2d, Your principles have been grossly misrepresented, and misunderstood. 3d, You have effected incredible things already.

With regard to the first fact I only say, with shame, there is no editor in the Valley who is willing to hazard his living, by establishing an abolition press.

2d. I can give you but a faint idea of the notions which are entertained of abolition principles and men. Recklessness, false estimate of right, fanaticism, Quixotism, sublimated austere bigots, incessantly harping upon abstract principles, incendiaries, officious intermeddlers, arrant knaves who would break up all well ordered society, set every slave at his master's throat, and enjoy the massacre with infinite delight; outlawed renegades who, having themselves no interest at stake, would bankrupt the honest planter, and most horrifying of all, introduce a general system of amalgamation. Notions so monstrously perverted, have not been caught up at hap-hazard, but most faithfully instilled by the timorous cautionists of our day. But from what source soever they may have come, they

clamor for correction, immediate correction. It is of immense importance that the public mind should be disabused by a faithful presentation of facts.

Under all these disadvantages you are doing much. The very little leaven which you have been enabled to introduce, is now working with tremendous power. One instance has lately occurred within my acquaintance, of an heir to slave property—a young man of growing influence, who was first awakened by reading a single number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, sent to him by some unknown hand. He is now a whole-hearted abolitionist. I have facts to show that cases of this kind are by no means rare. A family of slaves in Arkansas Territory, another in Tennessee, and a third, consisting of 88, in Virginia, were successively emancipated, through the influence of one abolition periodical.

Then do not hesitate as to duty. Do not pause to consider the propriety of interference. It is as unquestionably the province of the north to labor in this cause, as it is the duty of the church to convert the world. The call is urgent—it is imperative. We want light. The ungodly are saying, "the church will not enlighten us." The church is saying, "the ministry will not enlighten us." The ministry is crying "Peace—take care." We are altogether covered in gross darkness. We appeal to you for light. Send us facts—send us kind remonstrance and manly reasoning. We are perishing for lack of truth. We have been lulled to sleep by the guilty apologist. O tell us, if it be true, that our bed is a volcano. O roll off the Colonization incubus, which is crushing us down, and binding us hand and foot. Show us that "prejudice is vincible," that slavery is *unqualifiedly* wrong, and strip us of every excuse. Come and tell us what shocking scenes are transpiring in our own families, under the cover of night. Go with us into our kitchens and lift the horrid veil—show us the contamination, as it issues thence, and wraps its loathsome folds about our sons and daughters.

Nay, tell us if indeed these miserable beings are *themselves* our sisters and brothers, whom we have buried *alive*, with our own hands, in corruption. Point us, with painful exactness, to the forehead, from which God's image is well nigh effaced, to the soul-less eye, to the beast-like features,

the leaden countenance and the cowering air, and tell us, "That is the immortal mind in ruins." Repeat the sufferings of the slave, the stripes, the cruel separation, the forlornness of the friendless slave, and flash upon us the truth, "thy brother, thy brother!"

Sir, we have sympathies yet alive within us, we have feeling. The great deep of our hearts, though it has long been calm, may be moved, and it will be broken up by such stirring facts.

You hear the appeal of the south—can you resist it? You will not. The work is yours—your heart is in it. Move onward, and soon the triumph will be yours.

None but God *can* stay your course, and God is with you.

REV. BERIAH GREEN, president of the Oneida Institute, presented the following resolution.

Resolved, That the claims of the colored people of the United States upon our fraternal sympathy, and effective aid, are not only manifestly just, but peculiarly impressive, imperative and powerful.

Mr. Green said he felt himself thrown into an awkward predicament, in attempting to arrest and retain the attention of the audience, after the agonizing interest which had been excited. In his view, the prominent point in the resolution was in the word *peculiar*, as expressing the claims of the colored people on our commiseration. We are enjoined to keep still, for this matter does not belong to us: or in plain words, they mean, it is none of our business. Suppose we listen to this exhortation, or rather, this temptation; and stubbornly refuse to give attention to these claims and appeals of our suffering brethren,—would our own interests be safe in a single department? What effect would our silence have upon our poor oppressed brethren? Let no person imagine they are unacquainted with what takes place. Sir, there is not a pulse of sympathy for them in the north, which is not felt by the slave at the south. God will see to it that they are not left strangers to it. But suppose the slaves were to look around, and the soul-freezing report should come home that in all our borders there was not a friend who would sympathize with his bonds, or plead his rights,—would he not be driven to desperation, and violence because his situation could not be made worse? And we should

be called upon, and legally compelled to imbrue our hands in his blood, to shield the oppressor from the horrors of servile war.

Our brother has told us that not an editor in the Western Valley dares advocate the rights of the slave. What, sir, has this tyranny already laid its hand on the palladium of liberty, the free press? All the world seems to be alarmed if but a word be said to illustrate the great elementary principles of society, in their bearing upon human rights. I look into our Reviews and our Quarterlies, and see confusion worse confounded in their ideas. We have seen two brethren thrown into prison unlawfully, and a single state bid defiance to the Union, and there was not to be found a power that could bring them out—all because of slavery. A noble hearted brother of our own rose up and attempted to defend the oppressed, and lo, a price is set on his head. And do our editors, the guardians of liberty, magnanimously rebuke such arrogant pretensions? No, sir, they are ready to give him up as a victim on the altar of slavery. Sir, if this spirit is allowed to proceed, unchecked by public sentiment, it will soon reduce us all to servitude.

Again—What is this *prejudice*, that lays its iron grasp on our brother? Is that a *harmless* sentiment, that may touch the fibres of the heart without polluting it. The moral agent who yields to this loathsome prejudice, welcomes a corrupt principle to his soul, and how shall he escape its influence? I shall not attempt to be metaphysical, but the very child knows that every wrong desire, and every sinful affection grows stronger by indulgence. If we could take up our colored brethren, because we despise their color, and throw them into paradise—into the very bosom of God, it would be our destruction; for the sinful prejudice, indulged—not repented of, would fasten on some new object. Prejudice is not killed, when its victim is removed.—There is no way for us to escape from guilt and corruption of heart, but by cordially and joyfully yielding to our colored brethren the sympathies of our common humanity.

We are called together to hear about our being a benevolent people, awake to the strong ties of brotherhood with nations the most distant and the most degraded. And we shall be made to feel for China and Hindostan, and all that. And very likely we shall be told too, that our colored brethren

ren cannot, in this land, be made the Lord's freemen. Have you ever thought of the influence of this doctrine on Christian benevolence? You say Christianity itself cannot elevate the blacks in this land. This must be said, or what becomes of those PENS into which we thrust those of them who choose to visit our houses of worship. If the gospel cannot destroy the cords of *caste* in this country, why go to attempt it in Hindostan? Perhaps some shrewd Brahmin may find out, that Christianity is not able to make an American believer receive his brother as his own mother's son. And he will say to your missionary, "Go home and break the cords of caste in your own CHURCHES, before you come here to make the Brahmin and the Soodra mingle together in the charities of life."

I have heard many people say they want to do something for the heathen—they can give but little money—they are not fitted to go on a foreign mission. Why, Sir, to meet the case, and test the sincerity of such, God has taken up a nation of our poor heathen brethren, and brought them to our coasts, and scattered them among us. Here they are, scattered and degraded, at your doors. And what is the result? Why, we have formed a great national society, and employed eloquent agents to traverse the country, and make appeals to the public heart throughout the length and breadth of the land, to provide the means to take up these perishing heathen, and throw them back upon a barbarous coast, and into the deep shades of a savage forest. If infidelity ever curls its lip in scorn at the claims of Christianity, it must be when we vaunt the power of the gospel to break the proudest heart, and subdue every thing contrary to the law of God, and then, in the same breath confess that our colored brethren cannot be raised in this country.

But the resolution says, that the "peculiar" condition of our colored brethren, calls for our sympathy and efforts. Is not their claim peculiar? Let any individual put himself in their condition for an hour. This is what the Bible requires. Let him have his family broken up, and his sons and his daughters wrested from his arms and carried into bondage, where he can never hope to set his eyes on them again, while the stricken parent must not give utterance to a single expression of his feelings; must not shed a tear nor utter a groan, without

the penalty of the lash. Is there not something peculiar, when we think of our brethren in such a situation. So our Savior seemed to think, when he uttered the beautiful discourses in the 15th of Luke. The kind shepherd leaves his ninety and nine, while the *one sheep* that is lost absorbs his feelings and occupies his cares and labors until it is restored. The tender mother bends over the couch of one child that is sick and dying. She has other children, and she loves them, but she hardly thinks of them; the peculiarity of the sick one absorbs her whole soul for the time. Sir, this is nature. It is nature on earth, and nature in heaven—in the bosom of man, and in the great heart of God. The condition of our colored brethren calls for the most decisive and vigorous exertions for their relief. Ask your own hearts what they felt when our beloved brother from Kentucky described the condition of the slave. Did not your souls echo back his feelings, and cry "Hurry, hurry, to relieve such fearful misery. It cannot be endured." Sir, this is nature's voice, coming from the deep recesses of the soul; nature, as God made man's nature. And shall our very nature cry, and we stifle the sound, or refuse to listen?

God said to the cold-hearted Cain,— "Where is Abel thy brother?" He presents us the past generations of slaves, multitudes of whom have gone to the grave literally weltering in their blood, and says to us, "Where are those colored brethren?" The fratricide was impudent enough to reply, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Shame on the murderer! But what do *we* say? One man replies, "Consider my situation, I am president of a college, a professor in a theological seminary, surrounded with great responsibilities, I pray thee, have me excused." Another says, "I occupy the pulpit of a large congregation, and depend on public sentiment for my comfortable support, and there is a strong prejudice among my people. I don't keep public sentiment. I must wait till some bold innovator shall strike out a path and wear the cornet, and then you will hear my voice in behalf of our suffering brethren." Another says, "I am an editor of a newspaper, and my subscription list—you know—" I say, sir, take care, lest the curse of the fratricide come upon you.

For, one, I cannot escape from the co-

viction that our Savior has presented to us this very case of our colored brethren, in the 25th of Matthew, and pointed them out as his appropriate representatives. It seems to have been his design to refer to those who were most distressed and degraded and despised, as the test by which our destiny shall be determined. And when we are called to give an account for not relieving these poor brethren, the plea of ignorance will be of little avail. "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto ME." He will not hear our plea, "I did not know that poor, distressed and abject slave was my Judge in disguise."

Rev. Dr. Cox offered a resolution, that those ministers of the gospel, and editors of newspapers, who have exposed the sin of slavery, deserve the thanks of this society. He said if he did not hold in his heart, he should go beyond the proper limit in what he wished to say; but the lateness of the hour constrained him to confine himself. As to those who thought it strange that he should alter his views respecting the people of color, by going to Europe, he would only say, he wished they could themselves go to Europe, and see how the wise and good look with amazement upon our preposterous and wicked feelings towards the people of color. When convinced that he had been wrong, he considered it a privilege to get right. On this subject he had erred, he was convinced of it, he was sorry, and he was willing to say it before the world. He saw there was an analogy between this and the temperance cause. Both are practical, and in principle opposed to visionary theories and dreamy extravagances. The evil attacked in both cases is defended by the cry of "Let us alone." He was prepared to maintain the ground that it was a duty instantly to recognize the colored man as the Lord Jesus Christ recognized him. The Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, in giving his farewell in an ecclesiastical assembly, said, "I bless God for America, for her temperance and her revivals; we need them here; but there is one thing she needs from us, the principle of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION." And, said Dr. C. I have come to the conviction by calm inquiry, and some prayer, that this cause will go, and that it is the only cause which will go.

Mr CHARLES STUART, of England, said it was cause of gratitude in his mind, that God had permitted him to land on these be-

loved shores, just in season to second this resolution. He saw in this meeting a proof that the American Eagle and the Dove of Peace are even now rising clear and casting off the weight that our brother has so beautifully alluded to. He had been pained to hear, just before he left England, that his dear brother, who had just sat down, was denounced in America as a slanderer of his country. William Lloyd Garrison never slandered his country. No man had ever done so much to wipe off from his country the stain which in Britain attaches to your country on account of domestic slavery.

He was also grieved to hear that a report had been circulated here, that Wilberforce, the sainted Wilberforce, signed the celebrated document against colonization under the influence of sickness, and the debility of approaching death. It was false. He knew it was done while he was in the full possession of his holy mind, and in the enjoyment of his usual health, *before* he was attacked with the brief sickness which removed him from the world. He knew, too, that so far from having retracted the protest, it formed one of the excellent recollections which cheered his spirit when going into the presence of God, that he had left that testimony in favor of righteousness and humanity, against false political principles and oppressive prejudices. Mr. S. then alluded to the circumstances which made him not a stranger and a foreigner. The ashes of his parents are here, and his sisters live here, and he came here to be a friend and a brother.

The meeting was one of the deepest solemnity, and was pronounced by an experienced pastor who bore no part in the exercises, to be the most religious meeting that he ever attended in the anniversary week. The meeting was then adjourned to Thursday evening, at Dr. Lansing's church.

THURSDAY EVENING.

ADJOURNED PUBLIC MEETING IN REV. DR. LANSING'S CHURCH.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, by adjournment from the anniversary meeting of Tuesday, in Chatham-street Chapel, assembled again, on Thursday evening at half past 7, in the new church of the Rev. Dr. Lansing, in Houston-street. ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq. the President, in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. O. Wetmore, of Utica.

Rev. S. S. JOCELYN of New Haven, offered a resolution,

That the American church is stained with the blood of "the souls of the poor innocents," and holds the keys of the great prison of oppression; that while she enslaves, she is herself enslaved; and that she can never go forth to millennial triumph until she shall wash her hands from blood—open the prison door—and let the oppressed go free.

Mr. Jocelyn proceeded to sustain these positions. The poor innocent infants were sacrificed to Moloch by the idolatrous and rebellious Jews. Among the more than two million of slaves in this land, there were computed to be more than 500,000 infants, helpless and dependent. These "poor innocents" at their birth, were offered to the Moloch of American oppression. Their entire existence was sacrificed on this bloody and obscene altar. Not less than 200 of these innocents were born daily. Yes! *this day* 200 had been added to the number. And not less than 300,000 of the slaves of this land were held by Evangelical Christians! They were held essentially in the same debasing and degrading bondage—subject to the same system of cruelty and oppression with the rest of their race:—denied the means of education—forbidden to read the bible—unprotected by the laws—uncultured in their minds—unreformed in their morals.

Slavery is a system of pollution. It recognizes not the law of purity. It knows no marriage for the slave. It annuls the seventh command of the decalogue. It is a common thing for a female slave, a member of a church, to change husbands, and yet remain in fellowship with the church! This is done because females, as well as males are sold from one plantation to another, as the interests of the masters require, and husbands and wives are separated, to see each other's faces no more. And there are not wanting Christians and ministers to justify this breach of the commands of God, on the part of the slaves, on account of the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. Yet the laws and practices which create these circumstances, are permitted to go unproved.

Again, there are churches whose *funds* for the support of the ministry consist, not in glebe lands, or money at interest, but in *slaves!* the flesh and bones, and bodies and souls of men! It is computed that at least 300 Christian ministers hold slaves, not merely a few household domestics, but gangs

of field slaves, to cultivate large plantations. Many ministers, even from the north, become large slave-holders. This is frequently in consequence of their becoming connected in marriage with a wealthy heiress of a slave fortune. As the Canaanitish women were snares to God's ancient people, and led them into the most abominable practices, and the most grievous departures from God; even so in our own nation at this time, a most fruitful source of corruption to the church was the unhallowed alliances of Christians with families whose houses were founded in blood. And is not the church thus stained with blood? Is not the blood of the "poor innocents" found in her skirts?

2. The resolution charges the church with holding the keys of the great prison of oppression. Slavery, the world over, is that great prison. Its doors are not broken by violence. No. They are unlocked only by moral power. But the moral power of the whole world is held by the church. The keys of the prison are in her hands. But she refuses to unlock the doors. How was it in England? The church there held the keys, and so long as she refused to unlock the doors, the slave remained in bondage. But when, by the instrumentality of her Clarkson and her Wilberforce, she unlocked the doors, (if indeed it be done,) then the mandate went forth, that the captives be made free. The American church now holds the same key, and refuses to unlock the doors of the prison. She does it at the south—by her general example. There might be individual exceptions, but in general terms it might be said her members were oppressors. She does it, by decrying discussion—and by the influence of her religious press. Has the southern church ever petitioned for a repeal of the slave laws? Has she even asked that the horrid system of abominations should be done away? Has she been ashamed, or could she blush? The Methodist church in its Conferences, and the Presbyterian church in its General Assembly, had sanctioned slavery. The Methodist church by altering her salutary discipline:—the Presbyterian church by blotting out, in 1818, the noble testimony against the oppression, which, until then, had stood recorded in its standards. Among the Baptist, the Episcopalian, and other churches, no favorable movement on the subject had been made.

The Friends, indeed, a long time since, had taken a correct stand, but they stood alone. And at the north, the church refuses to unlock the prison—by apologizing for the sins of the south—by making exceptions and provisos where the law of God had made none—by fostering unholy hatred and prejudice—by denying the power of the gospel to eradicate the hatred she cherishes—by her pulpits—by her presses—by her reviews—by upholding the prejudice that upholds slavery—by adducing scripture in its support—by caressing slave-holders—by denouncing emancipation—by branding even her members as cut throats, fire brands, and madmen, whenever they uttered a note of remonstrance or of warning. Here is a moral power, but wielded as Satan would have it wielded. Her's were the keys: but the doors were closed, and the church refused to open them. Yes! In the church is lodged the moral power of the nation. But it is a moral power prostituted in prolonging the system of outrage, pollution and death.

3. But, sir, while enslaving, the church is herself enslaved. At the south she is enslaved by her fears—by conscious guilt—by her vexations—by her slave-stained luxuries—by sensuality—by her poverty in pecuniary means. With a defiled conscience—inconstant in love and fickle in action—the practical enemy of man, soul and body. Oh, how is the southern church enslaved! and notwithstanding her splendid papal delusion of an oral instruction that can supersede the necessity of the written word of God, how groveling is her standard of Christian duty and enterprise. And the northern church, too, is enslaved—by her sycophancy—by her silence—by her prejudice. Poisoned, shut up, with the fetters on her feet, and a death chill in her veins, the whole church is enslaved. The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint.

And now, sir, how is this enslaved and languid church, defiled as she is with guilt, and steeped in the "blood of the poor innocents"—with all this moral apathy and mental imbecility—aye—and with all this practical infidelity, how is she to go forth to millennial triumph? How shall *she* give knowledge, that withholds education? How imitate papists, and destroy the beast? How withhold the Bible, and convert the heathen? How throw down the bloody altars of human sacrifice, and yet sacrifice souls to slavery?

Never, no, never can the church begin her millennial warfare, till cleansed of this pollution. Even her prayer shall become sin. "When ye make many prayers I will not hear." "Wash you—make you clean. Put away the evil of your doings. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well."

Yes. The church must repent. At the north and at the south must she repent, and do works meet for repentance. Deliver the captive. Plead for the oppressed. Raise high the moral standard. Unfold the depths of this iniquity, and let them be seen and read of all men.

Oh, sir, we may boast of our benevolent institutions and of our revivals in vain, in vain, till we are washed of this blood! We are holding back the latter day glory. O let us arise, and banish prejudice and oppression. Brothers, sisters, fathers, listen. Time is short. The judgment will soon set. Alas! if the "blood of the innocents" shall then be laid on our own souls! Rather let us break off our iniquities by righteousness, and our transgressions by showing mercy to the poor. Then shall the light of our Zion go forth like brightness: Every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

From the Emancipator.

CHRONICLES OF KIDNAPPING IN NEW-YORK.

This disgraceful business within a week or two has been pushed forward with new vigor. At this moment there are *eleven* persons confined in the city prison as *slaves*. Five of them have been arrested within a few days. They are thrust into cells about 7 feet by 3 1-2, with no light but that which straggles through a grating in the door. Their names are Wm. Miller, James Carter, William Carter, Wm. Scott, and Peter Martin. The arrest of the latter was peculiarly cruel. He has resided in New-York about four years, has a wife and one child. For the last year he has been in the employ of Forstall & Berthoud, No. 57 Water street. The salesman, Mr. Bailey, commends Martin as a most faithful, trustworthy man, and as having no fault but that of being "too modest and unassuming." Martin was opening the store

when the kidnappers came upon him. One of them told him he must go with them. He replied that he was engaged, and could not. Upon this he was violently seized and received a blow on the face. The horrible fact now came upon him, that he was taken as a slave. He happened to have in his hand a knife, which he was accustomed to use about the store, in mending cotton bags, &c. and with this he defended himself to the considerable injury of Westervelt, the deputy sheriff. But a sufficient *posse* was in attendance, and a number of butchers were brought to their assistance by the cry of "Thief! thief! he has stolen a thousand dollars." [That is, gentle reader, *he had stolen himself!*] The whole rabble rushed in, bruised him, and trampled him under foot, till he was reduced to a physical necessity of being passive. In this wounded and forlorn condition, he was thrown into such a cell as I have described. There he lies, while the "priest" and the "Levite" pass by, far on the other side. But he had one friend who did not forsake him. His faithful wife, in an agony of feeling, has been laboring night and day for his comfort and release. This man was a member of the Sabbath school attached to the Chatham street Chapel. Americans! *Do circumstances like these attend the recovery of any other kind of property?*

These men have all filed their writs of *homine replegiando*, as allowed by the common law of England, fortified by the statute of this state, by means of which they will have the benefit of a trial by jury, unless prevented by the machinations of their ruthless persecutors. This law, the birthright of every Englishman, which allows to every man when called into jeopardy of his liberty, a trial before twelve disinterested men, who must agree in his condemnation, stands mightily in the way of the *owners of human flesh!* They have attacked it as *unconstitutional!* A prodigious effort is now making to bring the Supreme Court to set it aside. An opinion of the Superior Court has already been obtained in favor of the slave-holders. The Hon. Court, however, did not venture practically to set aside the law, but recommended that the matter should be carried higher. They reason thus: The Constitution requires that fugitives from service shall be given up. The United States' law

provides that any magistrate shall be competent to adjudge the claim set up to any fugitive. Therefore, the law which compels the claimant to abide by the decision of a *jury*, contravenes the Constitution and the United States' law. Most profound thinking! But does the Constitution provide that a man shall be given up who is NOT A FUGITIVE? Does the law of Congress enjoin that the liberty of a man who has never been a slave shall turn upon the decision of an individual magistrate? If so, then are the free citizens of New-York deprived of a right which is the pride of the English Common Law—we are all carried back, for the convenience of slave owners, to the usages of feudal despotism. Citizens of New-York! shall this humane law be overthrown?

A few weeks since a fugitive by the name of Robinson or Sweeny, was taken from on board a revenue cutter in our harbor and cajoled away without a trial. When he arrived in Richmond, he was prevailed upon, (according to a letter just received from that place,) to inform against an aged free black by the name of Lewis, as accessory to his escape. Upon this Lewis was brought before the mayor and sentenced to 300 *lashes on the bare back!* Robinson also disclosed the names and residence of a large number of fugitives in this city, in consequence of which several persons immediately left Richmond to recover their property. They are without doubt here, and aided by the talents of BOUDINOT and his HONOR the RECORDER, there is too much reason to fear they will succeed.

The most afflicting case is yet to be told. It occurred last Friday. Stephen Downing, otherwise called Levi Ames, had been in prison about 18 months;—a fine young man, whom every body commends that knows him. He had been adjudged a slave by a jury, but owing to a heavy bill of expenses he was kept in prison—in the hope that humane people might *buy him*. By this delay the claimant lost his legal right to remove the slave. This opinion had been given by Judge Edwards, who only declined to release him on the ground that the case came more properly under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The case was to have been brought before that court at its session in this city this week. The Hon. Richard Riker, Record-

er of the city, promised that he would do nothing in the mean time without giving notice to Robert Sedgwick, Esq. Attorney for the prisoner. But, as was apprehended, George Wilson, Esq. in behalf of the claimant, applied to the Supreme Court at Albany, who incautiously granted a mandate to the Recorder to give a certificate for removal. And the Recorder *did* grant such certificate, without giving notice to the other party, as he had solemnly promised! And in consequence of this base neglect, the liberty of an honest man was lost! He was stolen away from the city-prison on Friday morning, and put on board a Richmond packet which sailed before the fact was discovered.

On the 14th inst. I was requested to visit a schooner just arrived from Newbern, N. C. to see if any thing could be done for some children, who, it was said, were about to be carried to the New Orleans slave market. I found there an old Frenchman by the name and title of Dr. Mairs, who had in his possession four mulatto children, the oldest a girl of about fifteen, and the others little boys. He said that the children were his own offspring—that they were free—that he was carrying them to New Orleans to reside—and that their mother had gone there *three years ago*. Was their mother his wife? No, not exactly—they had never been married. Was she his slave? No, he had lived with her as a wife, and intended to, still. But why had he sent the mother of his children to New Orleans *three years* before he went himself? No answer, except that he did as he pleased with his own family.

There is a credible person in this city, who witnessed the sale of the mother of these children at Newbern, and saw her bound and carried on board a vessel for New Orleans. There can be no doubt that the *father* intends to *sell his children* as slaves; and that he took the route by this city to avoid the odium which even in Newbern must fall upon such a fiendish transaction.

There is no law of the land that I know of, to prevent a father from carrying his children to a slave market. Fearing that the law which is written on the hearts of men might interfere, this honorable slave-breeder made haste to be off—he sailed in the ship Huntsville on the morning of the 15th.

The children were too young and too ignorant to know what was before them. The oldest, however, evidently went reluctantly. I asked her whether she wished to go. With a cowering glance towards the unnatural father, she murmured, “I suppose I shall have to go.”

Here, gentle readers, is a loop-hole into that “*delicate subject*,” with which, “as we value the *Union*,” we are adjured not to meddle!

E. WRIGHT, Jr.

May 16, 1834.

PRESENT CONDITION OF LIBERIA.

Two important documents are now before the public, which shed a strong light upon the condition of Liberia, and will probably settle the question with many, that the colony can no longer be supported by Christians, either as a desirable home for our colored fellow citizens, or for its *missionary influence*. The first is a letter from the Rev. J. B. Pinney, the acting governor of the colony. The second is the Examination of Thomas C. Brown, from Liberia, in the Chatham-st. Chapel. These documents disclose nothing novel, to those who have closely watched the progress of the colony, with their eyes open to both sides.

As they have been published very extensively, we shall only call the attention of the readers of the Reporter to them, by a slight notice of some of their contents.

Gov. Pinney “anticipated many difficulties, but has found them vastly exceed his imaginings.”—The “military” companies had no sooner escorted him to the Agency House, than he discovered that it was in a falling condition, hardly tenatable, the foundation having given way, “from the united attack of the *ant* and the weather,”—and this, notwithstanding he found an unpaid bill of \$600 for *repairs*, for which he was obliged to draw on the bankrupt society at home.

“You are doubtless aware,” says the Governor, “that affairs were very much deranged, and that very many things needed immediate attention; but the reality, in either respect, you cannot know, for you have not seen. Almost every public building needed repairs and expense. Unsettled bills for [COFFINS, NURSES,] rented stores and houses, mechanics, &c. in addition to floating acceptances and orders of my predecessor, to the amount of two or three thousand dollars, and the current expenses of the colonial officers and school teachers, after his departure, came in upon me like a flood.”

“The provisions on hand,” [in the public store,] “from which more than fifty infirm persons and widows were drawing, consisted only of 4 barrels of beef, 300 kroos of rice, and some damaged meal.”

The government schooner from lying still was damaged and worm eaten, and had to be repaired at an expense of about \$300.

The emigrants who accompanied the governor, were at first accommodated in the *Hospital*. He speaks of them as having passed through the seasoning *remarkably* well.

The flag staff had tumbled down, and the colonial flag was exhibited from the limb of a tree.

"The Eboes and Congoes," re-captured Africans, we suppose, "were in a state approaching to war." They had been placed on land claimed by individual colonists. The Governor could not reconcile it with his sense of duty "to leave them at the mercy of the colonists," and to settle the difficulty, gave them other land in exchange for that which they had occupied. "When informed of this plan, *their joy seemed to know no bounds*; and in their efforts to evidence it by firing a great gun, three were very severely burned."

The governor has left no means unemployed to excite a spirit for *agricultural improvement*, and with good reason, for he says that "with the exception of gardens for families, and twelve acres planted with coffee trees by Rev. C. M. Waring, he might venture the assertion that *not fifty acres* are cultivated in the colony." He recommends as a matter of the first importance, as connected with the agriculture of the colony, the erection of a Poor House, in which to "employ the *numerous old women, WIDOWS, &c.*, who are now eating from the agency store the bread of idleness."—"They might be employed," says he, "in *picking oakum*, carding and spinning cotton, weaving and making up their own apparel." How wonderful that our *free* colored people should not be attracted by the prospect of leaving their widows to *pick oakum* in the *Poor House at Liberia!*

Mr. Pinney assigns two causes for the neglect of agriculture. First, "The fascinations of trade." This he hopes will cure itself. The captains who, by their long credits, have pandered to this depraved appetite, are now reaping its bitter fruits.—Consequently they will "stop credits, and" thinks Mr. P. "of course hundreds of strong men must return to the long deserted farms." We think they will return farther than that.

Second. A cause which shows up the "comforts" of Liberia to perfection. We must describe it in the governor's own graphic language.

"But this [the propensity to trade] has not been the principal cause of agricultural neglect. I am convinced the evil has its source farther back, and is deeper seated in the system. A colonist arrives in Monrovia at any time during the year. He is entitled to support six months. If anxious to do well, he looks forward to the day when this aid is to cease, and is prompted to make efforts to provide against it. If he gives way to these promptings, the result is generally severe illness, and greater and longer continued weakness. If, as all experience proves is most prudent, he sits down to await and escape the fever, the six months are soon gone and he is cast upon his own resources. If in health, which is not often the case, he starts under the most favorable circumstances; but what are they? A penniless stranger, without house or food!! What is he to do under such circumstances? If his land is ready at the moment, he cannot wait to plant a crop and have it grow; his own wants and his family's, if he have any, demand immediate relief. Sawing timber has heretofore been the dernier resort. The new emigrant hires or borrows a saw, and with a companion proceeds to the woods to earn his bread. A tree is selected in the swamp, and having no oxen to draw it out, they are under the necessity of pitting it on the spot. Here, *alternately standing in the water from knee to waist deep, and sawing four days*, they are enabled, after carrying their wood to market, (which occupies the other two,) to purchase enough to support themselves; and possibly he may be enabled to secure a lot in two years by building a plain frame house. In the mean time his system has become, in most cases deeply injured or diseased, an aversion to farming contracted, and the man's usefulness to himself and the colony almost ruined."

It seems that a large tract of country has been purchased of the natives *VERY CHEAP!* And also,

that a title to six acres back of Cape Mount, "is becoming quite a subject of dispute." "I have firmly asserted our right," says the missionary governor, "and the determination of the colony to ENFORCE it if necessary; and thus the matter rests for the present!! [What would be said if abolitionists should propose to "enforce" the "right" of the slave to his liberty?]

We have not attempted a synopsis of governor Pinney's letter, but the few extracts we have made will enable the reader to judge what must be the value of those pretensions, which are set up for the colony, as a comfortable home for our colored brethren. Its claim to be a missionary establishment, or a "foot-hold for missionaries," may be still further illustrated.

Gov. Pinney has sent out the colonial schooner without *ardent spirits*, "which is considered," he says, "indispensable to successful trade at any season." In his honesty, he will no doubt report her success in due time. By the way, we like Mr. Pinney, and are bold to say that if all his predecessors had been as frank, we should have had little need to attack the colonization scheme at the present time.

In relation to the moral and religious state of the colony, Mr. P. remarks:

"There, is, as in all other communities, so here, a larger portion of vice than the good would wish to see: yet I am persuaded that a large portion of the community is virtuous and inclined to favor a severe construction of the laws. There have been no revivals of religion among us for a long time, and at present there are no very encouraging appearances."

It seems that the colony itself is missionary ground, and ground which is scarcely broken; for, writes Mr. P.,

"Let the Christian community know, that to extend knowledge and promote sound piety, a quire of paper is, at the present moment, of more worth than a Bible. Bibles and tracts have been sent here, and either used as waste paper, or made food for worms. Why? Not because the people despise either, but because we have not a reading population. Until this is secured, their Bibles would be of more value in China."

And after all this, does not the Christian community of America understand, that to cure Africa of her complicated and dreadful moral maladies, they have sent out, not a skillful physician, but a tyro, ignorant of the first rudiments of the healing art, and needing to be healed himself? Of what use to the real missionary of the cross, in evangelizing Africa, can be such a population? Such a sample of American Christianity? We do not condemn the Colonization Society simply because there are vicious people or ignorant people in Liberia. There are such at home. But then we do not send *them* to convert the heathen, or to help to convert the heathen. If the colony is claimed as a *missionary* establishment, it must be compared with other missionary establishments. It must hope to succeed on similar grounds. What would be said of the American Board, if it should send out such sort of people to convert the world? Missionaries that have no one qualification for their work but the supposed one of a *similarity of color* to the natives on whom they are to operate. But the colony, it is said, *may* be made a good *foot-hold* for missionaries hereafter. And so the sacred funds of benevolence are to be employed,

not in preaching the gospel to every creature, but in making "footholds" for preachers hereafter.—The same policy would teach us to send out a colony of irreligious people to Canton, to trade with the Chinese, in the hope that hereafter they might be converted to God, and furnish a good foothold for operating upon the immense mass of "Celestial" superstition!

We think it would be cheaper and better in every point of view, to bring back the colonists for whom Mr. P. pleads so eloquently, and educate them in our schools here at home.

The readers of "Brown's Examination" will see that similar statements are made by him. The two accounts are mutually corroborative. Gov. Pinney's statements show a strong bias in favor of the Colonization Society, with an honesty which will not permit him to withhold unwelcome facts; Mr. Brown's show the straight-forwardness of a man who means simply to tell what he *knows*.

From the Liberator.

VINDICATION OF WILLIAM WILBERFORCE. TO MESSRS. GARRISON & KNAPP:

Gentlemen—Finding that reports have been widely circulated, on the subject of the "PROTEST," which are as hostile to truth, as they are derogatory to the character of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, I beg through your paper to expose the falsehood of these reports, and to clear the character of that beloved and lamented *friend of man*.

The reports to which I allude, are, that WM. WILBERFORCE signed the "PROTEST" respecting the American Colonization Society, under the feebleness of existing illness, of approaching death, and of undue influence. I *know* that all these allegations are utterly false.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE gave his noble mind to the solemn inquiry, with all his characteristic intelligence and candor. In a state of health rather better than usual, and yielding to the force of truth, he deliberately signed the PROTEST in question, in conjunction with some of the oldest and best friends of liberty. Of the sickness which soon after suddenly seized him, at that time he had no indications. It came upon him like a thunderbolt, and hurried him into eternity—into the immediate presence of the God whom he had long loved, and whose work of love had long been his delight; and I am assured by some of his best friends, that the recollection of having signed that PROTEST, and of thereby doing what he could to efface the influence of the error on that subject, into which he had been unwarily led, was one of the sweetest solaces of his departing hours.

C. STUART.

THE UNITED STATES' SLAVE MARKET!

The following advertisements are forwarded by a correspondent of the New York Evangelist.

They are from the capital of a nation that declares the African slave trade PIRACY, and supports armed vessels to crush it!!

CASH FOR ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY NEGROES.

We will pay the highest prices in cash, for one hundred and fifty likely young negroes, of both sexes, families included. Persons wishing to sell, will do well to give us a call, as we are permanently settled in this market. All communications will meet attention. We can at all times be found at Mr. W. Robey's, on 7th street, south of the Centre Market House, Washington City, D. C.

June 4—eodtf JOSEPH W. NEAL & Co.

CASH FOR NEGROES.

We will pay the highest cash price for any number of likely young negroes, from 12 to 25 years of age. As we are at this time permanently settled in the market, we can at all times be found at Mr. Isaac Beers' Tavern, a few doors below Lloyd's Tavern, opposite to the Centre Market, in Washington, District of Columbia, or at Mr. McCandless's Tavern, corner of Bridge and High Street, Georgetown. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it to their advantage to give us a call.

BIRCH & JONES.

June 10—dw&swtf

NOTICE.

Was committed to the prison of Washington County, Dist. of Columbia, on the 19th day of May, 1834, as a runaway, a negro man who calls himself DAVID PECK. He is 5 feet 8 inches high.—Had on, when committed, a check shirt, linen pantaloons, and straw hat. He says he is free, and belongs to Baltimore. He is a bright mulatto, stout, and well made, and about 22 or 23 years of age. The owner or owners of the above described negro man, are hereby requested to come forward, prove him, and take him away, or he will be sold for his prison and other expenses, as the law directs.

JAMES WILLIAMS,

Keeper of the Prison of Washington County, District of Columbia.

June 7—8t For ALEX. HUNTER, M. D. C.

DONATIONS TO THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Received since the annual meeting, cash of the following individuals:—C. P. Grosvenor, \$1; Dr. Weeks, .50; E. M. P. Wells, 1; H. Kingsbury, 1; R. B. Hall, .50; Dr. Atlee, .5; Alex. Paber, .25; O. Wetmore, 1; S. J. May, 2; A. Kingsley, 1; Dr. Parrish, 2; R. Jenkins, 1; George Bourne, 1; E. P. Wetmore, 1; E. Lyman, 1; N. Blount 1; Amos Freeman, 1; Martin Cross, 1; S. H. Cox, Jr. .25; Wm. A. Tappan, .25; L. H. Tappan, .25; P. A. Bell, 1; Wm. Adams, 1; T. S. Wright, 1; R. P. G. Wright, 1; John Dudley, 1; R. H. Seely, .50; Robt. Jackson, 1; U. M. Gregory, 2; Rowland Bourne, 1; Thos. Williams, 2; Lewis C. Gunn, .50; Wm. Smith, .25; E. A. Marsh, .25; John Jones, .50; E. Ellsworth, 1; S. Howard, 1; P. Howard, 1; a friend in Westchester, 10; Isaac Barton, .5; Thos. Shipley, .5; John Frost, 10; J. A. Lane, 1; L. Tappan, .38; Abraham L. Penneck, .50; Dr. J. A. Paine, .25; A. Ashton, (Philadelphia,) 4; D. Fanshaw, .5; Hudson Fem. Auxiliary, 5; Philadelphia Fem. Aux. 10; collections at the anniversaries, in cash, 149 61; monthly concert, 2 08.







